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A N S W E R

TO THE

A P P E A L

FROM THE

C O U N T R Y

TO THE

C I T Y.

L O N D O N,

Printed by M. C. for *Henry Brome*, at the *Gun* in
St. Pauls Church-yard, 1679.

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M A

A N S W E R

TO THE

F R E E P R

FROM THE

C O U N T R Y

TO THE

C I T Y

L O O K

Printed by M. C. for Henry Brown, at the Gun in
St. Paul's Church-yard, 1793.

AN
ANSWER
TO THE
APPEAL
FROM THE
COUNTRY, to the CITY, &c.

THIS *Appeal* has made a mighty noise about the Town; and yet, Heaven knows, there is neither *Good Faith* in it, nor *Argument*: But all things mis-apply'd, or mis-reported, to bring an *Odium* upon the Government, and to inflame the Multitude. The pretended Reasonings of it are no more than *fallacies* and *non-sequiturs*, from the beginning to the end; and yet it serves in a *Coffee-House* for a *Test* of *Honest Men* and *Mutiniers*.

Taking it barely in in self, it is scarce worth an Answer: But in the circumstances of the *Boldness* and the *Malice*, it is but reasonable to bestow such a Reply upon it, as may give it a Recommendation to publique Justice; Especially having already taken notice of it by the By, in another place.

The City of
London has
been always
Loyal.

It is a wonderful thing, the Confidence of this Audacious Pamphlet, in Addressing it self to the *City*, after so Fresh, so Loyal, and so Generous an instance of their scorn, and detestation of any thing that looks like a seditious practice. Why should a *Wat Tyler* expect better Quarter from a *Lord Mayor* under *Charles the Second*, than he had from a *Lord Mayor* under *Richard the Second*? Nay, that very Rebellion of *Forty-one* is most injuriously charg'd upon the *City of London*; for *Gournay*, *Ricant*, *Garraway*, and the most considerable of the Citizens, were not only against it in their *Opinions*, but oppos'd it to the utmost with their *Estates* and *Persons*. And that Honourable Society has not yet forgotten either the *Calamities* of the *War*, or the *Methods* and *Instruments* which brought so great a Reproach upon the *City*. Beside, that it is as much their *Interest* as their *Duty*, and as much their *Inclination* as either, to support the *Government*. For by a *War* they must of necessity suffer doubly: And not only in the loss or abatement of their *Trade*, but in the deep proportion of their *Taxes* toward the publique Charge. So that these are not a sort of people to be *Wheedled* out of their *Honour* and *Allegiance*. But we shall now take a view of the *Pamphlet* it self.

An Appeal from the Country to the City.

IT begins; *Most brave and noble Citizens* : And a little lower; *With you we stand, and with you we fall*; your example directs our Conduct, &c. Now if the greeting had been to the Club of Subscribers, that which follows would have been much more Consequent; for it is a great Truth, that the *Conspirators of both sides* must expect to stand and fall together; and that the *Factions* in the Country can never make anything on't, without a Tumult in the City, to lead the Dance; which (God be prais'd) there is no fear of, and then for the Credit which this *busie Mutineer* can pretend to under this present Government, with the *Noble Citizens* (as he claws them) I am perswaded, if the *Author* of the *Appeal* were but known to the Court of Aldermen and Common Council, it might cost him Dear, the very Complement. Not but that in so great a body, there may be some few little Fellows a float too, that cry out with the *Horse-turds* among the Apples, in the Emblem, *How We Apples swim*.

In the next clause, the Scribler gives to understand that he has read *Hodge upon the Monument*; and writing after that Copy, he follows the phansie of the Citizens looking about them from the top of the *Pyramid*. Now to match this dismal prospect of *Imaginary Calamities to come*, we shall give you a *Parallel* in a brief Summary of what this Nation has really suffer'd in *Fact*; and in *Truth* brought upon it self, by believing such stories as these, without either *Foundation* or *Effect*.

Hodge upon
the Monument.

Appeal. *First (says he) Imagine you see the whole Town in a flame, occasioned this second time by the same Popish malice which set it on fire before.*

Parallel. *First (say I) Imagine you see the whole Nation in a Flame, and brought to the extremities of Fire and Sword, occasioned this second time by the same Schismatical and Republican Malice which embroil'd it before:*

Appeal. *At the same instant phansie that amongst the distracted Crowd, you behold Troops of Papists ravishing your Wives and Daughters, dashing your little Childrens brains out against the Walls, Plundering your Houses, and cutting your own Throats, by the name of Heretique Dogs.*

Parallel. *At the same instant, Phanfie Decemb. 1659, once over again; whole droves of Coblers, Dray-men, Ostlers, upon Free-quarter with you, till some of your Wives and Daughters are forc'd to prostitute themselves for Bread; your Councils affronted by Armed Troops, and your fellow Citizens knockt on the head, like Dogs, at their own doors, for not so much as barking; your Apprentices discharg'd of their Indentures by an Arbitrary Power; your Houses Rifled; your Account-books examin'd; your Servants corrupted to Betray their Masters; your Persons clapt under Hatches, transplanted or thrown into nasty Dungeons; or (in mercy perhaps) your Throats cut, by the Name of Popish Dogs and Cavaliers: And all this only for refusing to Renounce God and your Sovereign.*

Appeal. *Then represent to your selves the Tower playing off its Canon, and battering down the Houses about your ears.*

Parallel. *Then represent to your selves the Thimble-maker, once again Lieutenant of the Tower; your Citizens clapt*

clapt up; *St. Pauls* and *Gresham-Colledge* turn'd into *Garrisons*; orders for the demolishing of your *Gates* and *Chains*; and nothing less than *Military Execution* threaten'd you, unless you will redeem your selves with 100000 l. a moneth Contribution, towards the perpetuating of your Slavery.

Also casting your Eye toward *Smithfield*, Imagine you see your *Father*, or your *Mother*, or some of your nearest and dearest *Relations* ty'd to a *Stake* in the midst of flames; when with hands and eyes lifted up to *Heaven*, they scream and cry out to that *God*, for whose cause they die; which was a frequent spectacle the last time *Poperie* Reign'd amongst us.

Appeal.

Also casting your eye toward *Cheap-side*, *Cornhil*, *Charing-cross*, *Palace-yard*, *Tower-hill*, nay, *White-hall* itself; Imagine you see your *Father*, or some of your nearest *Relations*, your *Citizens*, the *Nobility*, *Gentry*; nay, the *King* himself, and his best *Friends*, under the hand of the *Common Executioner*, appealing to *God*, in whose Cause they dy'd, which was a frequent spectacle, when *Rebels* and *Usurpers*, under the title of *Reformers*, reign'd last amongst us.

Parallel.

Phanſie ye behold those Beautiful Churches, erected for the true Worship of *God*, abused and turn'd into *Idolatrous Temples*, to the dishonour of *Christ*, and scandal of *Religion*: The *Ministers* of *God's Holy Word*, torn in pieces before your eyes, and their best *Friends* not daring even to speak in their behalf.

Appeal.

Phanſie you behold those Beautiful Churches erected for the true Worship of *God*, abused and turned into *Stables*; the *Pulpits* into *Juggling boxes* to *Hoſt* your *Wives* and *Daughters* out of their *Bodkins* and *Thimbles*; and nothing to be heard there but *Hereſie* and *Sedition*, to the dishonour of *Christ*, and

Parallel.

scan-

scandal of Religion. The *Ministers of Gods Holy Word* cast out of their Livings by *hundreds*, and their Children expos'd to the wide World to beg their Bread; and not a Friend that dares open his mouth for them.

Appeal.

Women running with their Hair about their ears; Men cover'd with Blood, and Children sprawling under Horses feet, and only the Walls of Houses left standing.

Parallel.

Your Women running with their Hair about their ears, one half to the *Works* like *Pioniers*, the other dancing Attendance at some Merciless Committee, to put in Bail perhaps for some Malignant Friend or Husband; Men cover'd with Blood, lost Limbs, and mangled Bodies, from *Edg-hill, Branford, &c.* and with horror of Conscience over and above; *Altars Robb'd, Churches Demolish'd*, and only the Walls left standing.

Appeal.

In Fine, What the Devil himself would do, were he here upon Earth, will in his absence infallibly be acted by his Agents the Papists: Those who had so much Ingratitude and Baseness to attempt the Life of a Prince, so Indulgent to them, will hardly be less cruel to any of his Protestant Subjects.

Parallel.

In Fine, What the Devil himself would do, were he here upon Earth, will in his absence infallibly be acted (if they may have their will) by his *Agents*, the *Perjurious* and *Hypocritical Regicides*; that Betray'd their Prince and their Country by the Solemnity of a *Covenant*, and *Poyson'd* the *unwary People* in that very *Sacrament*. Those who had so much Ingratitude and Baseness, not only to attempt, but take away the Life of a Prince so Indulgent to them as the late King was, who deny'd them nothing but his *Crown*, and his *Blood*, which afterward they took: These,

I say again, that are so ungrateful to our present Sovereign, as after so much Mercy and Bounty to the Murtherers of his Father, and of his Friends, have now enter'd into fresh attempts upon his *Life*, his *Crown* and *Dignity*, will hardly be less Cruel to any of his Majesties obedient Subjects.

Now to shew you that this way of *Incentive*, to the *Multitude* is only the *Old story* new furbish'd, and not our *Appellants* *Mother-wit* and *Contrivance*, as he would have the world imagine. See his *Majesties Declaration* of Aug. 12. 1642. *Husbands Collections*, pag. 540.

One day the Tower of London is in danger to be The Old Story
 taken; and Information given that Great Multitudes, at least a Hundred, had that day resorted to visit a Priest, then a Prisoner there by Order of the Lords: and that about the time of the Information, about fifty or sixty were then there; and a Warder dispatcht of purpose to give that notice: Upon Inquiry, but four persons were then found to be There, and but eight all that day, who had visited the Priest. Another day a Taylor in a Ditch over-hears two passengers to Plot the Death of Mr. Pym, and of many other Members of Both Houses. Then Libellous Letters found in the Streets, without Names, (probably contrived by themselves; and by Their Power, Published, Printed, and Enter'd in their Journals) and Intimations given of the Papists Training under ground, and of notable Provision of Ammunition in Houses; where, upon Examination, a Single Sword, and a Bow and Arrows are found. A Design of the Inhabitants of Covent-Garden to Murther the City of London. News from
B
France,

France, Italy, Spain, Denmark, of Armies ready to come for England. And again, Pag. 536. they cause Discourses to be Published, and Infusions to be made of Incredible Dangers to the City and Kingdom, by that our coming to the House: (in the case of the five Members) An Alarm was given to the City in the Dead time of the Night, that we were coming with Horse and Foot thither, and thereupon the whole City put in Arms: And howsoever the Entry seem'd to be cast upon the Designs of the Papists, mention was only made of Actions of our own.

Upon a fair understanding of the whole, this supposition of his is no more than the Counterpart of the old Story: and the Declamatory dangers that he foresees in Vision, were outdone by those sensible Cruelties and Oppressions that this poor Kingdom suffered in very deed.

We should do well to look about us.

If it be true, that these and forty times more Cruelties were committed: And that the People were frighted into these Precipices only by shadows: If it be true again, that those Glorious Pretenders, when they had the King and his *Papists* (as they call'd his most *Orthodox Friends*) under foot; that these People, I say, never lookt further after Religion; but fell presently to the sharing of the Church and Crown Revenues among themselves, It will concern every sober man to look well about him, and to make use of his Reason, as well as of his Faith, for these *Fore-boders* seldom Croak but before a Storm.

Four Affronts upon the Government in two Periods.

We in the Country (says he) *have done our parts, in chusing, for the generality, Good Members to serve in Par-*

Parliament. But if (as our two last Parliaments were) they must be Dissolv'd or Prorogued, when ever they come to redress the Grievances of the Subject, we may be Pitied but not Blam'd. If the Plot takes effect, as in all probability it will, our Parliaments are not then to be Condemn'd for that their not being suffer'd to sit, occasion'd it. Fol. i.

There are just as many Affronts put upon the Government in these two Periods, as (in the Printed Folio) there are Lines in't. *First*, Upon the House of Commons; for a Representative constituted, for the generality, of such men as our *Appealer* calls *Good Members*, would lay the Kingdom in Blood, (which is manifestly the drift of the Libel from the one end of it to the other.) *Secondly*, The *Appellant* Usurps upon the *Kings Authority*; as if his Majesty were bound to give an Account to every Libeller, why he *Prorogues* or *Dissolves* his *Parliaments* (which is a Priviledge inseparable from the Supreme Power) in all forms of Government. *Thirdly*, It is a Tacit Charge of *Tyranny* upon the King; for it is done (he says) *whenever they come to redress the Grievances of the Subject*. And lastly, He makes the King a Promoter of the Plot; but whether with more Indignity or Folly, it is hard to determine, either in the Intimation, or in the Supposal of his Majesty to be *Felo de se*, and a Party to the Conspiracy against his own Life. *The Plot* (he says) *will in all Probability take effect, and he is the occasion of it, that would not suffer these Parliaments to sit.*

The Plot is now got so far out of our Enemies reach, that no subtle Evasion or Trick can ever hope to extinguish it. Wherefore they must either suffer all to come out, or begin by force to justify it, which we see they are

Two Kings Pre-
ceeding Cen-
sur'd.

Two Plots Pro-
ved.

going to do, by their endeavouring to get those Worthy and Brave Commanders Banished, who (as they think) are the most likely Persons to conduct and lead us up against any Popish Army. Fol. 1.

The Appellants meaning is, that the Popish Plot is so notoriously *Publique*, there's no Concealing of it, and so far we are agreed: For we have had *Legal Tryals, Proofs, Verdicts, Sentences, and Legal Executions* in the Case. But yet to my thinking, we have had also as Competent Evidences of another Plot under that, as a body would wish. But whoever crosses the second Plot, is presently Libell'd, as a Friend to the former. What do we hear, what do we read, what do we see, but *Seditious Discourses, Scandalous Invectives, and Mutinous Practices* against the Government? Is not the *Kings Administration*, and his Authority publickly Arraigned? And is not his Sacred Life struck at in this way of Proceeding? First, They expressly tell the World that his Majesty Misgoverns. Secondly: They lay it down for a Maxim, that the People may call him to Account, in case he does Misgovern. And this being admitted, the next point is, directly (by an undeniable Consequence) to Arraign him as a Traitor to the Sovereign People. But the Faction it self expounds its own meaning. What have they to say for that Inhuman and Execrable Murther acted upon the late Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews in Scotland, and to their Declaration against the King himself; which was follow'd with an Open, Actual, and Form'd Rebellion? This is a Plot that, me-thinks, a Man may see without his Spectacles; and according to our Appellants conceipt, they began by force to justify it, for fear all should come out.

To follow him in his *Politiques*, he tells us further in the passage above recited, that to facilitate the *Papists* work, *his Majesty Banishes the Persons most capable of Opposing it*. So that he makes his Majesty evidently a *Party* to the *Plot*; or at best, no more than a *King* upon a *Chess-board*, to be turn'd and carry'd which way the *Gamester* pleases: Beside, the putting of the *Illustrious Duke of Monmouth* in the head of *Popish Troops*, in contradiction to himself.

But (for all this yet) *Gentlemen* (says he) be not dismay'd; the *Lord of Hosts* will be of your sides; for so long as you fight his Cause, he will fight your Battels: And if God be for you, who dares be against you? Fear nothing, but as your *Interests* are *United*, so let your *Resolutions* be the same; and the first hour wherein you hear of the *Kings Untimely End*, let no other noise be heard among you, but that of *Arm, Arm, to Revenge your Sovereigns Death*, both upon his *Murtherers*, and their whole *Party*, for that there is no such thing as an *English Papist*, who is not in the *Plot*, at least in his good *Wishes*. Fol. 2.

And why [be not dismay'd] Where's the danger, I beseech you? The *Popish Plot* is *Master'd*; and there's hardly a *Roman Catholique* dares shew his head: Nay, and for want of *Popish* matter to work upon, the *Church of England* it self is made *Papal* and *Anti-christian*. And whoever looks narrowly into this buliness, will find these *Bugbears* to be of the *Appellants* own making. What is all this, but *Curse ye Meroz* over again: He claps the *Rabble* on the back, and spits in their mouths, and without more adoe, turns them loose upon the *Government*? The first hour (says he) &c. Here's no *Supposition* of the
Kings

His Orders if
sai'd out to the
City.

Kings Murther to qualifie the matter ; but the thing so *Positively pronounc'd*, as if he himself were of the Conspiracy. So that without any *Ifs* or *Ands*, the Murther is given for *Granted* ; and upon this Instigation, the least Rumour in the world that way, puts the People upon a *General Massacre*, which the bare report lately of the *French* appearing before the Isle of *Purbeck*, had like to have done in several places. Now if they should *Arm* upon such a *mistake*, or but an hour too soon, it were enough to put the whole Nation in Blood again : And then his Orders to the City, to be ready with their *Arms* at an hours warning, are as *Peremptory*, as if he had the Command of the *Militia*. Beside that, if a *Fanatique* should *Murther* the King, the *Papists* are to be *Punish'd* for't. Because (says he) every English *Papist* is in the Plot, at least in his good wishes. And it is no less probable on the other side, that every *Unrepenting Covenant* is in the Counterplot ; for upon that *Covenant* it was, that they founded the Destruction, and the Dissolution of the Government : And it behoves us to beware of *King-killers* on the one hand, as well as on the other. Now see how he goes on.

Think not to fare better than the rest, by meddling less ; for the Conquerors Promises are never kept, especially coming from that sort of People, whose Maxim it is, never to keep their word with Heretiques, Fol. 2.

What a wonderful strain of Logick is this ? Draw your Swords (says he) and go to the Devil for Company, for the *Papists* keep no Faith with Heretiques. This was the Song of 41. and he that would see what Faith the *Covenanters* kept, either with God, King, Church, or People, has no more to do than to compare their *Leagues* and *Protestations* with their actions.

Now

Now Gentlemen (says he) *lest any amongst you should be ignorant, either of your Enemies, or their Designs, both against the King and Kingdom, — they are young Beggarly Officers, Courtiers, over-hot Churchmen, and Papists. The Young Officer, or Souldiers Interest makes him wish for a Standing Army; the Courtier endeavours to advance Taxes, Oppressive and Illegal Impositions. The over-hot Church-men wish well to Popery, in hope of a Cardinals Cap, or at least the Command of some Abby, Priory, or other Ecclesiastical Preferment, whereof the Roman Church hath so great plenty. These are the men who exclaim against our Parliaments Proceedings, in relation to the Plot, as too Violent; calling these times by no other name, but that of Forty or Forty-one, when to amuse his Sacred Majesty, and his good People, they again threaten us with another Forty-eight: And all this is done under-band, to Vindicate the Catholique Party, by throwing a Suspicion on the Fanatiques. These are the Episcopal Tanti-vies, who make even the very Scriptures Pimp for the Court; who out of Urim and Thummim can extort a Sermon to prove the not paying of Tyths and Taxes to be the Sin against the Holy Ghost: And had rather see the Kingdom run down with Blood, than part with the least Hem of a Consecrated Frock, which they themselves made Holy.*

Here's a very fair and round distribution of the Cities Enemies, into Younger Brothers, Dependents upon the King; Friends to the Church, and into Profest Papists: And the whole Kingdom it self is again split into Two Parties, the one consisting of Mutiniers and Schismatiques; the other of the Loyal Servants and Subjects of the Government, which under

*His Character
of the Church
and Court.*

*All the Friends
of the Govern-
ment made the
Cities Enemies.*

under the *three first Heads*, he brands as the *Cities Enemies*. These Men he Charges with *lessening the Plot*, with *resembling the present times to Forty-one*, and *talking of another Forty-eight*. Now how is it possible but the Positions of *Forty-one* should put us in mind of the *Rebellion of Forty-one*, and the *Regicidal Principles of Seventy-nine*, mind us of the *Regicide it self of Forty-eight*. For these *Principles and Practices* are nothing in the World but the *Venom of the Old Cause* swallow'd and *Spew'd up again*; and all the *Treasons of the Consistory* are cast upon the *Conclave*: As if the *Murther of Charles the First*, by the *Treachery of Mock-Protestants*, were ever the less *Detestable*, because the *Two Harries of France* were *Assassinated by Profest Papists*. These are the *Puritan Jesuits*, that turn the *Bible into a Nose of Wax*; that make *God the Author of Sin*; that *Depose and Murther Kings by a Text*; and Intitle their *Sacrilege and Treason to the Inspirations of the Holy Ghost*. These are the *Straight-lac'd Christians*, that make less scruple of *Robbing the Altar*, than of *Kneeling at the Communion*: They can swallow the *Blood of Widdows and Orphans*, and yet *Puke at a Surplice*. Let me ask the worthy Gentlemen of the City now, which of the two carry'd them the *easier*, the *Schismatical and Sacrilegious*, or the *Episcopal Cantivy*? Or which they take for the more *dangerous Enemies*, our *Appellants young Beggarly Officers*, or their *Old Acquaintances, Pen, Fuls, and their Fellows*, who violently thrust out the *gravest and most Substantial of their Citizens* (as the late King has it) and took in *Persons of desperate Fortunes and Opinions, in their places*.
Let

Let them compare the *Appellants Courtiers* too, with the *Old Sequestring, Plundring, and Decimating Committees*; with their *Court Marshalls, and Major-Generals*: when *London* was made little better then a *Shambles*; and their *Merchants* only *Cash-keepers* to the *Tyrants at Westminster*; and then against his *Over-hot Church-men*, we'll set the *Mechanique Pulpiteers* and *Tub preachers*; that not only divided the people from their *Sovereign*, but *Wives* from their *Husbands*, *Children* from their *Parents*; and Preacht away *Apprentices*, by *Droves* into *Rebellion*: Carrying the *Schism* through *Church and State*, into *private Families*. This is the *Blessed change* that is now propounded, and laid before us.

Lastly, (says he) the chief and most dangerous of your *Enemies* are *Papists*, who to make sure of their own *Game*, allure all the three forementioned Parties to their side, by the arguments aforesaid. Their design is to bring in *Popery*, which they can no ways effect, but either by a *Popish Successour*, or by the *French Arms*. Papists the grand Enemies.

There is no doubt of the danger of the *Papists*; but still while the Government has *One Enemy* in *Front*, it is good to secure the *Flank and Rear*, from another; So that the *Cities* only safety lies in the mean, betwixt the two Extremes of *Popery*, on the *One* hand, and *Libertinism* on the *Other*. The *Former* (he says) can never be effected, but by a *Popish Successour*, or the *French Arms*. See now how this hangs together: the same Faction clamour'd against the late King just at this rate: and yet there was no prospect at that time, of a *Popish Successour*, but yet *Popery* was charg'd (most injuriously as all the World can Witnesse) upon the *King himself*. And then for the *French Arms*, so far was his Majesty from calling them in to his assistance, that upon the *Scottish Rebellion* they were *Solicited* and *Implor'd* into a *Confedera-*

Inconsistencies.

cy against him. And yet we remember to our griefs, that those very *Rumours* and *Apprehensions* of *Popery*, even when there was not any *Danger* of it, cast us all into *Confusion*. And now our *Appellant*, to shew how good an *English-man* he is, as well as a *Subject*, enters his *Protestation* a little lower in the same *Paragraph*; that he would rather of the *Two*, *Live* under a *French Conquerour*, than the *Duke* as *Successour*.

I must acknowledge (says he in the next clause) *that there is some Coherence between the Beginning of the Late Civill Wars, and this our present Age. For as well then as now, the Ambitious Papists, and French Faction were the chief, nay the only Incendiaries, which set us all in flame.*

That the *French Cardinal* did Artificially improve the *Turbulent Humour* of the *English* and *Scottish Schismatics*, to the advancing of the *Interest of France*, and to the *Embroyling* of these *Kingdoms*, I make no question: But to call them the *Only Incendiaries* is to give the *Lye* to the constant current of *History*, and the known *Certainty of Fact*, even within our own remembrance. How were the *Papists* and *French Factions* concern'd in the *Scottish Up-roar* of 1637, and a hundred *Sacrilegious Tumults*, after that, in the course of the *Rebellion*? and to set him right now in his *Calculation* of his *Majesties French-friends*, we shall enform him, that the *Kings Principall supplies of Men, Arms, Money, and Ammunition*, were furnished from *Holland*.

He tells us further, *that the Catholique Cause, like the Chestnut in the Fable, hath ever since Q. Marys days been in the Fire: and that both then, and now, the Papists make use of the Episcopall, and Court parties claw, to take it out; the First of these, they allure to their assistance, by the Fright of Presbytery; the Latter*

The Late Rebellion Fanatical.

by

by the apprehension of a Republique, tho' nothing is less Designed, or more Improbable.

'Tis a hard case to have to do with an *Adversary* that has neither *Candor* in his *Reports*, nor any force of *Argument* in his *Reasonings*; and yet it is the more tolerable here, because it is all that either the Story or the Cause will bear. He makes the *Episcopal* and *Court-Party* to be the *Passive Instruments* of the Church of *Rome*, for the advance of *Poper*y, ever since the Reign of Queen *Mary*: which is so notorious a mistake, that Queen *Elizabeth*, and the *Hierarchy* in *Her* Reign oppos'd the Errours, and the power of that *Church*, with all possible constancy, and Resolution. King *James* made himself famous by his *Pen*, as well as by his *Practices*, upon the same Subject. The Late King lost his Life in the defence of the *Reformed Religion*, and his Majesty that now is, hath manifested his affection to the Church of *England*, (as by Law Establish'd,) in despite of all *Calumnyes*, and through extream difficulties, with the highest Acts of Solemnity Imaginable. And now on the *other side*, let but any man trace the *History* of the *Schismatiques*, from Queen *Mary* to this Instant; and the restlessness of that *Faction* will appear, through every step of his way; and that whensoever the *Papists* prest upon the *Government*, on the *One* hand, the *Separatists* never fail'd of pinching it on the *Other*. And yet again whereas he talks of the fright of *Presbytery*, and the apprehension of a *Republique*, as neither *designed*, nor *probable*, there's no man of *Thirty years of Age*, but knows the contrary; and that this Nation was actually enslav'd to that *Double Tyranny*, under pretence of delivering us from the danger of *Arbitrary Power*, and *Poper*y. Nay, and but two lines further, he charges

Neither Good Faith nor Argument.

The Church and Court vindicated.

The Fanatics trouble some, ever since the Reformation.

A palpable Error.

He asperses
the late King.

the *Late King* for countenancing *Papists*, no less than *This*: which to every honest man is constructively a *Vindication* of them *Both*. Nay, he goes so far toward the owning of a dislike for the *Form* of our *Government* it self, that he says, no *Government* but *Monarchy can in England ever support, or favour Popery*, as who should say; *A Common-wealth* would put us out of fear on't.

Ridiculous.

He says again, Pag. 3. that the *Parliament Party* never *Entertain'd any Papists, unless under a Disguise*; and yet we never heard of any more of them, than the *Kings Heads-man* in a *Masque*. We could shew him several *Instances* of the contrary; but no man is so senselesse, as to imagine that the King was *Depos'd, pursu'd, rob'd, taken, condemn'd* and *put to Death*, by a hundred thousand *Priests* in *Visors*: we have nothing to say to the *Loyalty* of the *Papists*; but yet the *Incongruity* of our *Appellants* charge upon them, we cannot but in *Honesty* and common reason, take some notice of, Especially when the *Dust* of his *Objection* flies in his own Eyes.

Their Loyalty and Good Service pay'd to the King (says he) *was meerly in their own defence*; well knowing that the *Foundation* of these *Commotions* was only in *Opposition* to their *Party*.

The *Papists*
Loyalty was
Interest.

Putting the Case now, that they serv'd the King only for their *Own Ends*: We have an acknowledgment yet, that there was *Loyalty*, and *good service* in it, however qualified: and we know that there were many *Brave*, and *Eminent* men among them, that lost their *Estates* and *Lives* in that service. If it lyes as a *reproach* upon them, that they did not serve the King out of *Loyalty*, that which they did, was yet better then *not serving him at all*; and better, in a higher degree still, then *fighting against him*.

him. But supposing now that they had no known *Papists* in their *Army*, the Case is not one jot mended; for they were all *Schismatiques* then; and it is worth the Observation, that not a man drew his sword in that Cause, who was not a *Known Separatist*; and that, on the other side, not one *Schismatique* ever struck stroke in the *Kings Quarrel*: The One side contending according to their *Duty*, in favour of the Law, and the Other against it.

The Separatists loyal upon no account.

Our *Appellant* lyes open to another Objection in the clause above recited. He says, *the Commotion was only founded upon an Opposition to that Party*. How came it then, that they seiz'd the *Crown*, and *Church-Lands*; put the *King* to Death, plunder'd, sequester'd, and beheaded his *Protestant Friends*, if the *Opposition* was only to *Popery*? But we have seen their pretences, and we have felt the meaning of them.

The Appellants voluntary mistake.

He insists upon the *Papists* desiring *Oliver* to accept of the *Crown*. There's a little Book that will inform us better concerning that transaction. It's call'd *Monarchy asserted*, consisting of a Collection of Speeches upon that debate.

Who put Oliver upon accepting the Crown.

We are at this time (he says) acting the same Play still, though an Old-one newly Reviv'd; and as that which the *Papists* then Acted, was laid upon the *Fanatiques*, so was the like to have been done, in this present Plot.

It will be easily granted, that this is in a high degree the Old-Play Reviv'd, but we are too well acquainted with the circumstances of the present Plot, to carry the resemblance thorough. That which the *Fanatiques* then acted, was layd on the *Papists*; and when they had master'd the *King*, under the Calumny of a *Papist*, they Murther'd him as a *Protestant*. The Question at present is not the *Certainty* of One Plot, but the *Superfétation* of another: For it is possible.

possible enough, that a *Papist* may be before his Majesty with a *Dagger*, and some rank *Enthusiast* behinde him with a *Pistol*.

He proceeds with a Story of Mr. *Claypool*, not at all to our purpose; and then gives us further, an account of the *Papists* designe in *Scotland*; who first by their *Councells* procured the poor *Inhabitants* to be Oppress'd, and then sending their disguised *Priests*, and *Emissaryes* amongst them, encourag'd the poor silly *Natives* to *Muriny* against those *Oppressions*, hoping to cast the Plot upon the *Presbyterians*.

If the *Power*, *Number*, and *Industry* of these *Emissaries* be such as our *Appellant* would have us believe, a man would think there should hardly be a *Rat trap* in the three *Kingdoms*, without a *Priest* in't. Let us but lay together several *Circumstances* in this *Appeal* concerning the *Miraculous Influences* of these men upon all sorts of *People*, and it will be a hard matter to represent any thing more *Comickall*. First, he says, that the *Papists* have already made sure of all the *Young beggerly Officers*, or *Souldiers*, *Courtiers*, and *Over-hot Church-men*; Fol. 2. Secondly, he makes them to have an *Absolute Dominion* over the *King* and his *Councill*; for they have made him *Banish* those *Officers* (he says) that should lead the people up against the *Papist Army*. Thirdly, they govern all the *Conventicles* in the *Kingdom*, as our *Appellant* will have it. And Fourthly, they procur'd the *Scots* to be *Opprest*, and after that shifted hands, and made them *rebell*; and all this is every man bound to believe, as the *Thirteenth Article* of his *Faith*. Now can any thing be more wonderful, then that these people that can turn the *King* and his *Councill* with a *Twine thread*; that have so absolute a *Command* of the *Multitude*; and can set *Governors* and *Subjects* handy-dandy, to

A Legendary
Fable.

Box one another like *Punchinello's* Puppets, when they please : is it not a wonderfull thing, (I say) that these men with all this *Interest*, are not yet able to save a *Priest* from the *Gallows* ; or any single person of the Party from the *Exact Rigour* of the *Law*. Have they only a *Power* to do the *Government's* *Mischief*, and themselves no *Good* ? We insist the more earnestly upon this *Point*, because the comfort of *Humane Society* is totally destroy'd, if we come once to be transported, by these *stories*, into a *Common Diffidence*, every man of his *Neighbour* ; and put into such a condition, by the *Entertainment* of these *Jealousies*, that there will be no longer any *Faith*, or *Confidence* in *Mankind* ; for fear of these *Invisible* and *undistinguishable Enemies* in our *dayly Conversation*.

Humane Society dissolv'd.

Now to support, and fortify himself in his Opinion ; he says farther, *that not only Dr. Oates mentions this in his Evidence, but that the Papists themselves were so well assured of the Scotch Rising, before it happen'd, that at the Disbanding of this late Popish Army, many of the Officers and Souldiers had secret Orders not to sell their Horses, but to be in a readiness, for that they should have occasion to use them again within a Fortnight, and so it happen'd ; for within a fortnight after the Disbanding, the Rebellion brake out in Scotland : So well acquainted were the Authors of this Mischief, with the time when it would happen.*

The Scotch Rebellion charg'd upon the Papists.

With the *Appellants* leave, *Dr. Oates* only Reports what these Agents *Design'd* to do, and the *Hopes* of their succeeding in it ; but says nothing *positively*, that I can finde, of what they had *done* : and in his *Thirty fifth* *Composition*, expressly makes their Project to be the *weakening* of both the *Presbyterian*, and *Episcopal Faction* : As to the casting of the *Plot* upon the *Presbyterians*, it was not so well contriv'd (I think)

Dr. Oates's true account of the Scotch Rising.

as it might have been: For it is no *Clearing* of the *Papists* from *One Plot* upon the *Kings Life*, the charging of the *Presbyterians* with another.

Then there's another slip; he will have the *Papists* privy to the *Scotch Rising*, because at the *Disbanding* of the *Popish Army*, some *Officers* were order'd not to sell their *Horses*, &c. First, it is not prov'd that they had any such *Orders*; secondly, he calls it a *Popish Army*; and implies, that these *Orders* were given to *Popish Officers*, which *Officers* either went upon the service or not: If they went, they over-threw their own design; for he makes it the *Papists Interest* to entertain those *Tumults*, and these *Gentlemen* made it their business to suppress them. If they did not go, their *Orders* were to no purpose. But why does the *Appellant* call it a *Popish Army*? He should do well to wash his Mouth, after so foul and scandalous an expression.

The Scotch
Fanaticks
confederate
with the Eng-
lish.

But now let us change hands; and see if it be not more probable that the *Fanaticks* knew before-hand of that *Rising*, then the *Papists*. For though we had at that time greater apprehensions of the *French* then ever, yet the importunities of some people were so violent for the immediate disbanding of the *Army*, that it lookt like a design to remove that *Block* out of the *Scots way*. The next passage is a little mysterious.

He says, that it was likely the *Scots* would be beaten by the *Kings Forces*, that (says he) it might make both Them and Us less apt to Rise upon any account whatsoever. So that here is a tacit Confession, that the *Appellant* found some inconvenience in this discouragement to a joint Rebellion; And so he goes on, saying, that if this had been a *Fanatical Plot*, the same Party would certainly have risen in *England* at the same time. But this, under favour, will not hold; for the

Scots

Scots tumulted in 37. and appeared in *actuall Rebellion* in 38. whereas their Brethren in *England* did not take up arms till 41, though *privy* to and *confe-derate* in the *Tumults* of 37. He lays it down for granted in the next Line, that the *Papists* Mur-thered the Late King, and so proceeds in these words.

After the Catholiques had thus brought the Fathers head to the Block, and sent the young Princes into Exile; let us reflect upon their Usage of them in France, &c.

Now to give the Devil his due, I cannot finde so much as *One Papist* in the whole List of the *Regicides*; and yet I have turn'd over all the *Acts* and *Ordinances*; *Walkers Independency*; and in one word, the whole *History of those times*; and can hear no news of them. Take notice, that it is not the question here whether or no the *Papists* would have *scrupled* it upon a fair Occasion; but whether or no, in the Truth of the *Fact*, it was the *Papists* that did it: and I do not think it Fair, to *hang one Man*, or *Condemn one party for anothers fault*. Put the case one man steals a *Horse*, and another robs a *Church*, 'tis no vindication of the *Horse stealer*, to discharge him of the *Sacrilege*; no vindication of him that rob'd the *Church*, to acquit him of the *Horse stealing*; but it were a high injustice to charge one offender with the crime of *another*. His following Reflections upon the Ill-usage the Royall Family received in *France* when his Majesty was abroad, and the good Offices which *France* has received from hence in requital, are only meant for a sly and invidious Reproach upon the Government, and there is more of flourish in them then matter of weight; only he has one speculation not to be past over.

I cannot but ascribe great part of our present Calami-

Who brought
the Late King
to the Block.

ries (says he) to his Highnesses Education in that Arbitrary and Popish Government.

Here he pretends to tell us of our miseries, and from whence in a great measure they proceed; but it would puzzle a man to finde out what these *present Calamities* are, more then the froward and fantastical apprehensions of *remote* and *imaginary Evils*: Nay, the very *fear* it self is counterfeited as well as the *danger*, and the men that dresse up these goblins to fright the silly multitude, they do but laugh at them themselves. Our *State-Empericks* do with our *Politique*, as our *Physicians* do with our *Natural Bodies* (for there are *Intoxicating Opinions* as well as *Passions*) they make their Patients many times stark raving mad with that which they are not one jot affected withall themselves. Do we not live (or if we *will*, at least, we *may*) in Peace and Plenty, under the protection of a Gracious and a Protestant Prince, and under the blessing also of so particular a providence, that when all our Neighbours have been at fire and sword round about us, this Nation has been yet exempt from the common calamities of Christendom? And shall we now expose and abandon our *present quiet and security* only for *future possibilities*, and make our selves certainly miserable *before-hand* for fear of being miserable *hereafter*? Whosoever soberly considers what we *enjoy* on the one hand, and what we *fear* on the other, comparing and examining both parts with their due and reasonable circumstances, he shall finde all attempts and proposals of popular prevention or reformation, to be as wilde a project, as if a man should cut off a leg or an arm for fear of corns and chilblains. But what if our fears were yet juster then they seem to be? how many things may yet intervene,

according

according to the ordinary course of humane affairs, to disappoint the danger? as Mortality¹, Survivorship, change of thought, &c. or can the Appellant prescribe us any Remedy, that is not worse then the disease? shall a man cast himself from the top of *Bow*, for fear of tumbling down stairs? shall we destroy *Protestantism* for fear of *Papery*? or a *Good Government* for fear of a *bad One*? shall we run the hazzard of Damnation, for fear of Oppression? Nay, what if our present apprehensions were Gratify'd? New ones would yet succeed into their places: For the Rage of Jealousy is boundless, and Incurable. And so we found it in the Late Rebellion, which was built upon the same Foundation. Never so mean and so despicable a slavery, as that which we then brought upon our selves for fear of slavery. Never was any *Papacy* so *Tyrannical*, and so *Ridiculous* together, as that *Persecuting*, and *Non-sensical Presbytery*, which we had in Exchange for the best temper'd Ecclesiastical Government upon the Face of the Earth. Were not *Those* blessed days when our *Divines* had *Salesmen*, and *Mechaniques* for their *Tryers*; and the *Laitie* a supercilious Company of *Classical*, and *Congregational Noddys* for the *Inspectours* of our *Lives* and *Manners*: When *Tone*, and *Lungs*, without either *Learning*, or *Honesty*, were the distinguishing Marks of a *Gifted Brother*? Methinks the very Memory of these servile and profane Indignities should put the bare thought of the Second part of it out of Countenance.

And he seems as much our in the pretended *Cause* of our *Calamities*, as he was in the *Calamities themselves*. There were no Princes Educated abroad in the Late Kings time, and yet the same clamour to

a Tittle. But if the *Appellant* had been so minded, he might have given us a much more Rational account of our misfortunes; then he has done. He might have charg'd them upon those people, who in truth, first sent the *young Princes* into *Exile*, and then kept them there; and have at present a design upon the Exercise of the same Arbitrary power again, which they would be thought to fear. They began with a cry against Popery, but they concluded in the Murder of the King; the dissolution of the Monarchy, and the perpetual Exclusion of the Royal Family, as may be seen in their Proclamation of Jan. 30. 48. for *Inhibiting any person to be King. Whereas* Charles Stuart King of England, (say they) *being for the Notorious Treasons, Tyrannies, and Murthers, committed by Him in the Late Unnatural and cruel Wars, condemned to Death, &c.* It is remarkable, that though they possess the people against His Majesty, as a *Papist*, there is not one word of Religion in the Reasons, of their putting him to death.

The *Appellant* comes now to shew his Reading in two passages out of *Philip de Comines*, with an application of his Observations upon them. The former concerning certain *English Pensioners*; which *Lewis is the Eleventh of France* kept in Pay. Now though I cannot agree the hundredth part of those persons to be *Pensioners*, which out of an envy to the Government, the Common people are instructed to call so; yet I shall never differ with him upon this point, that the Money of *Lewis the Fourteenth* may perhaps have been current in *England*, as well as that of *Lewis the Eleventh* was. The other story is that of *Lewis the Eleventh* to *Charles Duke of Burgundy* in the Case of *Campobache*. The *French King* advertizes the Duke of *Burgundy* (they

(they being then in hostility) that the Count *Campobache* was a Traytor to him: But the Duke would not believe it. And there was one *Cifron* also, who was of the Plot with *Campobache*: This same *Cifron*, being taken prisoner by the Duke before *Nancy*, and condemned to dye; gave the Duke to understand, that he had a most Important secret to communicate to him. But the Duke neither giving admittance to *Cifron*, nor credit to the King; lost his Life afterward, and his Dominions, by being too incredulous. The *Appellant* applies this to his Majesties Case, in Language so coarse and scandalous, that there is no repeating of it. And what does all this amount to, but that a Prince may be as well undone by believing *too much*, as *too little*? If he had Trusted either *less* to *Campobache*, or *more* to the King, it had come all to a purpose. He will have his Majesty in danger for not believing *enough*, of the *Popish Plot*: But his Royall Father was Ruin'd on the other side, by not believing *enough* of the *Presbyterian Plot*. And God grant that his present Majesty may only believe so much of that Plot over again, as may stand with his honour and safety. But it appears in this place, by the courtness of the *Appellants* Expressions, and by the byasse of the whole Libell throughout, that he is not so much concern'd for the Kings believing or not believing, as to fasten a scandall upon his Majesty, by perswading the People, that the King does not believe it; and consequently to possess them, that his Majesty is a favourer of *Popery*, tho' never any Prince in Christendom gave more Convincing and Irrefragable Proofs of the contrary.

This passage of the Duke of Burgundy (he says Fol. 4.)

Equally Dangerous to believe too much and too Little

may

may be very much to our purpose, to shew you, that when God designs the destruction of a King or People, he makes them deaf to all discoveries he they never so obvious. And having Levelled the Application in particular, he speculates in general terms (toward the bottom of the leaf) upon the whole matter.

There are four several Arguments (he says) which many times prevail with Princes to be incredulous of all pretended Conspiracies against themselves. The First is drawn from their being in, or made privy themselves to Part of the Plot, but not to the whole. The Second, from their own good nature, and Clemency. The Third, from the nature of the Evidence. And the Fourth from the nature and Interest of the pretended Conspirators. To begin then with the First; when the Prince hath been made acquainted with a Design of Introducing a New Government, or a New Religion, but not with the Design of taking away his own Life, this sometimes hath prevailed with him not to believe, that the same party with whom he himself is in a Conspiracy, should have any such other Plot against his Life. But this I hope is not Our Case, For &c. — And then he Reasons that his Majesty could get nothing by it. Fol. 3.

We shall put him together now, and make English of him. First, he makes the Duke of Burgundies Case, in his Deafness to Discoveries to be the Kings. Secondly, He infers from that Deafness that God has design'd his Majesty to Destruction. Thirdly, he takes upon him to Philosophize upon the Reasons of Princes Incredulity in such Cases; and very fairly represents his Majesty as a Party in the Conspiracy, and consenting to the Introduction of a New Government and a New Religion, though not privy to the Plot of taking away his Own Life. Only he concludes with a [But this I hope is not Our Case.] in

such away of *Doubling* as implys *Believing*. And so much for the first point.

The Second Motive (he says Fol.5.) which may incline a Prince to disbelieve the report of a Plot is, *from his Own Good Nature, and Clemency ; which makes him not believe any ill of those to whom he has been so kinde.* But this is a fallacious way of arguing.

The Kings
Bounty . -
bus'd.

Now by his Favour, This is not so much an Argument from *Good Nature*, on the *One* side, as from the Tye of *Gratitude*, on the *Other* : but whether way soever it be taken, the Late King found it indeed a *very fallacious way of arguing* : for almost all his Acts of Grace, and bounty turn'd to his mischief, as appears in his Majesties *Declaration of Aug. 12. 1642.* when after delivering up his Ministers to Impeachments, his Concessions in the business of the Star-Chamber, High-Commission Court, Ship-Mony, Forest-Laws, Stannery-Courts, Tonnage and Poundage, Continuance of the Parliament, &c. they improv'd all these Trusts, and Condescensions even to the formal taking away his Authority, Revenue, and Life. And those particularly whom his Late Majesty Oblig'd to the highest degree, laid the foundation of his Ruine. Nor is the ingratitude of the same party to the Son less notorious, then the other was to the Father : None flying so fiercely in the face of the Kings Authority and person, as those that stand indebted to the King for their Lives and Estates ; who yet act as confidently, as if one Rebellion might be placed in Justification of another. For they do now afresh and in publick avow the methods and practices of the late Times ; while the true sons and servants both of the *English Church* and *State*, lie in the dust, waiting for the righteous Judgment of the Lord in want, and patience. Now

if

if according to the *Appellants* Rule those are the most dangerous, to whom the King has been most kinde, that Danger must be understood of the Fanatiques ; for otherwise the *Appealer* runs the Hazzard of a *Premunire*, upon the Act for the safety of the Kings Person, in scandalizing his Majesty for a *Favourer of Popery*. It is not yet that the general Rule fails, because of this Exception : For the greater the Obligation, the greater in reason ought to be the confidence, though the *Appellant* seems to be of another opinion.

Who betrays you in your Beds ? (says he) your Friend ; for your Enemy is not admitted to your House. Who betrays you in your Estate ? your Friend ; for your Enemy is not made your Trustee. So that nothing is more dangerous then a blinde friendship.

An Argument
destructive of
Society and
good Nature.

This is an admirable fetch of his, to prove his Royal Highness dangerous to his Majesty, because he is both a *Friend* and a *Brother* ; and still the *Nearer*, the more dangerous : as if the King were safer in the hands of his *Enemies*, then of his *Friends*. But he expounds himself, that they are more dangerous, in respect of greater *Confidence*, and fairer *Opportunities*. There is no fence against that danger, but utterly to cast off and renounce all the Bonds, and Dictates of *Society* and *Good Nature*. We must contract no *Friendships*, and trust no *Relations*, for fear they should cut our *Throats*. How much more wretched then the very *Beasts*, has our *Appealer* at this rate made *Mankind*, by poysoning the very *Fountain* of *Human Comforts* ? Nor is it a *Friend* that betrays us ; but an *Enemy*, under that appearance : By which Rule an *Episcopal*, a *Fanatical*, a *Popish Friend*, are all equally dangerous : For a Man has no more security of a *Friend* under *one denomination*, then under *another*. But the *Appellant* in this place speaks of the danger of a *blinde Friendship* ; that is to say, a *kindness* that is taken up without any *consideration*, or *Choice*, and runs on without fear or wit : which in this application, must either be very little *respectfull*, or altogether *Impertinent*. He produces instances of perfidious *Favourits* and *Relations* : as if there were no other to be found in Nature. By his Argument, because *One Woman* poyson'd her *Husband*, *all men* should destroy their *Wives* : Because *One Son* supplanted his *Father*, *all Pa-*

And of evil;
Consequence.

rents should drown their *Children* like *Kitlins*. Because *One Younger Brother* offer'd violence to his *Elder*, there should be no longer any *Confidence*, or *Faith* maintain'd among *Brethren*.

If little petty *Interests* (says he) make one *Brother* wish the others *Death*, how much more prevalent will the *Interest* of a *Crown* be ? Nay of two *Crowns*, viz. One here, and another hereafter in *Heaven*, promis'd him by an *Old fellow* with a *bald pate*, and a *spade-beard*.

As to the *Argument*, this is only the *Second Part* to the same tune ; and a *Particular Instance* improv'd into an *Universal Exception*. There are *Wicked Husbands*, *Wives*, *Children* ; Let there be no more *Marrying*. Men have been *payson'd* in the *Sacrament*, in their *Cups*, and *Dishes* ; shall we therefore never receive the *Communion*, nor *Drink*, nor *Eat* ? There have been *Tyrants* in all forms of *Governments*, shall we therefore have no *Government* at all ? And moreover, as this way of Reasoning Lessens all the *Bonds* of *Human Trust*, and *Concord*, and runs us back again into Mr. *Hobb's* Original *State of War*, so does it as little serve the *Appellants* purpose, even if it were admitted. First, the *Temptation* of a *Crown* does not work upon any *Man*, either as a *Brother*, or as a *stranger* : but equally upon *Both* ; and more, or less, as the man is more, or less *Conscientious* or *Ambitious*. So that the danger arises from the *Humour* of the *Person*, not from the *Relation*. Nay Secondly, The *Danger* is Greater, from a *Popular Faction* that has no *Right* at all to a *Crown*, then from a *Legal Pretendent* to it, upon a *Claim of Descent*. For the One only waits his *Time*, according to the course of *Nature*, whereas the Other presses his end by the ways of *Bloud* and *Violence*, having no other way to compass it : He makes it yet a stronger argument, where there is but *One Life* betwixt a *Successor* and *Three Kingdoms* : But does not this *Argument* hold as strong on the other side ? There was only the *Kings Life* betwixt the *Faction* of 1641, and the *Three Kingdoms*, which *Life* they took away, and so possess themselves of his *Dominions*. Their pretence was only a *Reformation of Abuses* ; with *Horrid*, and *Multipl'd Oaths*, that they designed Only the *Glory of God*, the *Honour* of the *King*, the *Preservation* of the *Protestant Religion*. His Majesty (they said) was misled by *Popish Counsells* ; and their *Business* was no more then to rescue him out of the hands

A dangerous Proposition.

The Temptation of a Crown.

Reformation the pretence.

hands of *Papists*, and bring him home to his *Parliament*. And what was the Event of all ? A Gracious Prince was Murder'd, and 500. Tyrants set up in his stead : Our Religion, and Our Laws were Trampled upon ; and the *Free-born English-men* subjected to a Bondage, below that of *Gally-slaves* : The whole Nation becoming a Scandall, a Hisling, and a Scorn, to all our Neighbours, round about us.

Who they
were, at de-
stroyed the
late King.

But what were these people, all this while ? If we may credit the *Appellant*, they were *Priests* and *Jesuits* ; Or at least, *Papists* : But the King tells us, they were *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and Other *Sectaries* ; *Preaching Coachmen*, *Felt-makers*, &c. The Act for Indemnity gives us a *List* of the *Regicides* : The Act of *Uniformity* stiles them *Schismatiques*, and throughout the whole History of their *Acts*, and *Ordinances*, there appear none but *Dissenting Protestants* : The Church of England being the *Only Sufferer*, betwixt the *Two Extréams*. And these People had the Interest of the *Two Crowns* in prospect too ; which the *Appellant* descants so Jollily upon : Almost every Pulpit promising *Salvation* to the Fighters of the *Lords Battels* against the *Lords Anointed*, with a *Cursed be He* (at the End on't,) *that doth the work of the Lord Negligently*.

Upon the *Third Head* he says, that most Princes *Believe*, or *Disbelieve* the *Information* which is given them of a *Plot*, according to the *Nature of the Evidence*, and *Credit of the Informants*.

Two Plots.

There is no more in This, then that most Princes *Believe*, upon the Common Inducements that move all men of Reason whatsoever, to *Believe* ; *Viz.* the *Probability* of the matter in Question, and the *Credit* of the *Witnesses*. Now as to the *Popish Plot* ; we shall give him these Two Points for Granted, but without discharging a *Plot* likewise, on the *Other* hand, upon the same *Principles*, and no less pregnant *Evidence*. We do not speak here of the *Popish Plot*, which the *Papists* would most fillily have turn'd upon the *Presbyterians* ; (the shallowest *Contrivance* certainly that ever was hatch'd, and the most palpable *Imposture* :) But we speak of a *Plot* that was Bred and born in the *Fanatical party* ; whereof we have as many *Witnesses* almost as *Readers* ; in Forty *Libells* of That *Leaven*, and *Extraction* : Beside several Open and Violent attempts upon the *Government*, which do unanimously bear *Testimony* against them. The Following parts of This *Paragraph* are wrought into such a *Complication* of Zeal and Scandal

He covers the
Libel with
the Plot.

dal (one *Snap* at the *King*, and another at the *Plot*) that every period is a *Bait* : And whoever touches upon it, is sure of a Hook in his Nosthills. Under Colour of Asserting and making out the Truth of the *Plot*, (which no sober man doubts of) he throws Dirt upon his Majesty and his Ministers, for dodging, and Imposing upon the People, in favour of it. One while *too Much* comes out, another while *too Little*. The Frequent *Dissolutions* and *Prorogations* of *Parliaments* (he says expressly) were to prevent the *Trial* of the *Lords* : And so the *Squib* runs sputtering on, from the King to his Privy Councell ; Thence, to his Courts of Justice ; and in One word, the whole *Story* comes to no more then a *Political abstract* out of *Harris's Domestic Intelligence*.

But why these Pamphlets to the *Multitude* ? *First*, There's no fear of the peoples running into *Popery* : For 'tis their Horror and Aversion. *Secondly*, There's no need of Convincing *Them* of the Truth of the *Plot* : But rather to keep them from Extravagances, upon the Jealousies and apprehensions they conceive of it already. *Thirdly*, There's no need neither of calling *Them* to our assistance, toward the suppressing of it : For the sifting and Examining of this *Conspiracy*, with the bringing of the *Confederates* to Publicque Justice, is a great part of the business of the *Government*. So that these *Libells* cannot be reasonably understood to have any Other then these Two ends. *First*, to Teaze and Chafe the *Rabble* into a Rage, disposing and preparing them to entertain any occasion for uproar and Tumult. *Secondly*, when their Blood is up against This Detestable *Plot*, with the Contrivers, Promoters, and abettors of it ; what does he, but turn the Rancour of That Outragious *Humour* upon the King, rivy Councell, Courts of Justice ; and Briefly, all his Friends ; by marking *Them* out for *Parties* in the *Treason* : And so rendring his Majesty, and his Government Odious, by these Malicious Insinuations, and endangering the Peace of the *Publicque*, to the Highest Degree ?

Why this Appeal to the multitude ?

The *Fourth* and *Last Argument* (says he) which may sometimes prevail with the *Prince* to disbelieve any report of a *Conspiracy*, is taken from the *Nature* and *Principles*, and from the *Interest*, of the *Pretended Conspirators*. But neither of these *Motives* can pretend to Influence Our *Prince* into a Disbelief of This *Popish Plot*, Fol. 7.

The Appellants Observation and Inference is this, that the *Popish Plot* is to be Believed, because it squares with the Principles and Interest of the *Party*. We are better informed in the History and Doctrine of *Massacres* and *Regicides*, then to question the Malice

Popish Principles and Interest.

of the *Jesuiticall Positions*, or the credibility of the *Plot* here in *Debate*: and so we shall yield him the *Hellish Tenet*, which he insists upon, of *Murthering KINGS*, and a *Hellish Tenet* it is indeed; and as *Hellish* undoubtedly in a *Schismaticque*, as in a *Jesuit*. For his *Quarrel* otherwise is to the *Faction*, not to the *Maxim* which is equally *Dangerous* and detestable in all *Factions*. Now wheresoever we find the same *Principles*, we have the *Appellants* leave honestly to suspect the same *Designs*.

Puritan Jesu-
ics.

Was not this the *Doctrine* of the *Fanatiques* from *Forty*, to *Sixty*? And did they not make good their *Doctrine* by their *Practice*? Did they not declare the *King* Accountable to the *People*? And did they not put him to *Death*, upon that *Foundation*? We have the very *Journals* themselves of those *Times*, to prove what we say; beside the *Damned Harmony* of their best received *Authors* to that purpose. We propound (say the *Reasoners*) that the *Person* of the *King* may be speedily brought to *Justice*, for the *Treason*, *Bloud* and *Mischief* he is *Guilty* of. An *Act* (says another) agreeing with the *Laws* of *God*, *Consonant* to the *Laws* of *Men*, and the *Practices* of all *Well-order'd States* and *Kingdoms*. Let *Justice* and *Reason* blush (says another) and *Traitors* and *Murderers*, *Parricides* and *Patricides* put on *white Garments* and *Rejoyce* as *Innocent ones*, if this man (speaking of the *Late King*) should escape the hands of *Justice* and *Punishment*. The *Government* of *England* (says a *Fourth*) is a *Mixt Monarchy*, and Govern'd by the *Major Part* of the *three Estates* assembled in *Parliament*. Whensoever a *King* (says a *Fifth*) or other *Superior Authority* Creates an *Inferior*, they invest it with a *Legitimacy* of *Magistraticall Power*, to punish themselves also, in case they prove *Evill Doers*. It is *Lawfull* (says a *Sixth*) for any, who have the *Power*, to call to account a *Tyrant* or *wicked King*; and after due *Conviction*, to *Depose* and put him to *Death*, if the *Ordinary Magistrate* have deny'd to do it. *Detrahere Indigno* &c. It is not for *private persons* to *Depose* a *wicked Government*; but that the *Universality* of the *People* may *Lawfully* do it, I think no body questions.

Treasonous
Libels.

These *Seditious Positions*, with many more, (and some worse, perhaps,) were publicly Printed and avow'd before his Majesties *Return*. And the very same *Principles*, with *Fertile* Additions to them, have been expos'd by the same *Party*, in the face of the *Sun*, since his Majesties *Restoration*. And there is scarce a Pamphlet without something of this *Mixture*, that comes from any of the *Private* and *Pragmaticall Intermeddlers* in the present *Controversy*. So that the *Principles* are the very same, as to the *Quality* and *Ingredients*,

redients, under several *Colours*. And so much for their *Principles* :
Now to their *Interests*.

In his following way of Reasoning ; under the Countenance of
proving it to be the *Papists Interest* to *Murder* the King, he does
all he can in the world, by a side-wind, to possess them with the
Necessity of doing it ; and consequently, to *force* them upon it :
Only, as good luck is, the Arguments will not bear that stress. I
should not dare to speak his words after him, if it were not, *First*,
that the Libell is already, by several Impressions of it, made as
Publicque as a *News-Book*. And *Secondly*, that his Propositions are
erected upon a false Bottom. Upon which two Considerations, we
shall presume to insert only two Periods of his, upon this Subject.

Their Interest (says he) does unavoidably excite them to *Murder* A Dangerous
his *Sacred Majesty* ; For *First*, they know he cannot long subsist without Hint.
a Considerable Sum of Money, which he must Receive either from the *Par-*
ty, or from the *Parliament* : Now for them to supply him with so vast a
Sum, is a Charge, that (you may well imagine) they would desire to get
rid of it, if they could, tho' by the Kings Death. On the other side, for the
Parliament to supply him with money, that they know, cannot be done but by
taking off the Heads of their Faction ; excluding their Succession, and con-
senting to such Laws as must of Necessity ruin them : Besides, his Majesty
hath already permitted the Executing so many of their Party, as they ne-
ver can or will forgive it.

It falls out Happily that the force of his Argument does not
come up to the Drift of it. But the Weakness of the One takes off The Plot en-
courag'd.
the Edge of the Other. He tells the whole world, that the *Papists*
have no way in the Earth to save themselves, but by the Murder
of the King. The One half of this spoken in a Corner to a Knot
of *Priests* and *Jesuits*, and fairly prov'd upon a man, would be as
much as his Head's worth. And is the Crime ever the Lesse for do-
ing the same thing in Publicque, where the Provocation is stronger?
These Discourses are not to pass for *Simple Declarations* of a mans
Opinion ; but Artificiall *Encouragements* rather, and *Advices*, toward
the doing of the thing ; especially coming from the Pen of a Person
that calls himself *Junius Brutus*, and recommends himself to the
City by the Borrow'd name of a *King-killer*. Tho' I cannot inform
my self of any of that Family that lives near *Richmond*.

His First Argument runs thus. The King wants money ; and
there's none to be got, but either of the *Papists*, or of the *Parlia-* He falters in
his Argu-
ment.
ment. The *Parliament*, he says, will give his Majesty none ; and
therefore the *Papists* will Murder him to save Charges. This is a
Policy

Policy far fetch'd: The *Fathers* Head (we know) was set at a Price, but we hope better of the *Sons*. Now in his prejudging the *Parliament*, upon an Assumption that the King gets not a penny of Money of them, but upon such and such Terms; he does not so much speak his *thoughts*, as vent his *Proposition*; rather *Desiring*, then *Foreseeing* that the *House of Commons* will hold the King to such unhappy Conditions. And then he finishes his Contemplation with this Conclusion, that the *Papists* will never forgive his Majesty, for what he has done already. Wherein, *First*, he Contradicts himself, in supposing the King an *Enemy* to the *Papists*, whom he has hitherto insinuated to be their *Friend*. And *Secondly*, instead of proving the *Papists* Design against the King in this Particular, he advances One of his *Own*.

The Popish
and Fanatick
Interest the
same.

Now if he would have come roundly up to the Point of the *Papists* Interest; he should have told us of the Ecclesiastical Dignities and Preferments that the Church of *Rome* has confer'd upon their *Emissaries* into his Majesties Dominions: And he should have expounded it to the people, what pains they take, and what Hazards they run, only in the playing of their Own Game, and making way to their advantages in Reversion. This is so great a truth, that most of the serious Catholiques themselves reflect familiarly upon these *Busy* People, as the common *troublers* of the *Peace* of *Christendome*. But then I should have oppos'd an interest also on the *Fanatiques* side, to Ballance this. For they have their *Reversionall* prospects too: their *sequester'd Livings* and *Estates*; their *plunder'd goods*, their *profitable Offices* and *Commissions*, *Crown* and *Church Lands*. &c. And they wait for their day again as impatiently as the *Jews* do for their *Messias*. Nay to keep their title still a foot, they stand fast to their Old *Covenant* still, as the *Fanatiques Magna Charta*; by which they pretend to make out a *Religious claim* to all the advantages they got by sacrilege and oppression. So that their *principles* and *interests* lying indifferently against the *Establish'd Order* both of Church and State; there will be no need of casting either faults upon the other.

A wicked
Calculation.

After a worse then Astrological Determination upon the Kings Fate; he bestows another Cast of his Cunning upon the City and Citizens of *London*, which (he says) is in danger to be consum'd by *Fire*. It is a lewd and a seditious Hint, in both these Cases, the putting of it into the head, as it is much in the power of any profligate and desperate villain, to verify his calculation. Besides that in telling the Citizens what they are to expect, he does at the same

same time, Counsell the Papists what to do. They will burn *London*, (he says) *First*, as the only *United force*, able to withstand *Arbitrary Government*, and without that, *Poper*y can never prevail.

If *Poper*y cannot come in without *Arbitrary Government*; if the Jesuits design the burning of *London*, as the only *United force* that can withstand that power: either there is no fear of *Poper*y and *Arbitrary Government*, and (consequently) of such a design taking place in this *Kings* *Reign*; or the whole calumny falls directly upon his Majesty himself: or otherwise, if the *Appellants* prospect looks forward into the future, what's the meaning of all these *Alarms*, so unseasonably, to trouble our present peace with the sickly Visions of things to come? And he should have done well also to have expounded himself a little upon the *United Force* that should withstand, and the *Arbitrary Government* to be withstood? For otherwise, it may be taken for the sounding of a Trumpet to a *Rebellion*. For the *Arbitrary Government* which he phantasies to himself, must be exercised either by a *Lawful Prince*, or by an *Usurper*: If by the *Former*, his *Tyranny* is no *Warrant* for our opposition; if the *Later*, there's no appearance of any other *Usurpation*, then (as we shall see presently) of his own setting up.

Mistaken in
his Compu-
tation.

Secondly, he says that *London* is the only place where by reason of their Excellent Preaching and dayly instruction in the Protestant Religion, the people have a lively sense thereof, and doubtless will not part with it, to pleasure a Prince; but perhaps rather lose their Lives by the Sword in the Wars, than by Faggots, in *Smithfield*.

The passage now is plain *English*; and as many indignities upon the Government, crouded into one sentence, as could well be brought together. Here is *First*, an Exhortation to a *Rebellion*. For the Prince here in question, against whom the sword is to be drawn, can be no other, upon his supposition, then actually the King. And let him take his choice now whether it shall be intended of his present Majesty, or of his Successour. It is a *Rebellion* against the King that now is, in the one Case, and against the Next King in the other. And Secondly, It is not only a simple *Rebellion*, but (to the scandal of the Reformation, and particularly of the Church of England) a *Rebellion* founded upon the Doctrine of the Protestant Religion: Thirdly, It is no other then (as he himself has worded it) the *Hellish Tenet* of *Murthering Kings*, in a disguise: only a *Jesuitical Principle* in *Mask*-*rade*. It is, Fourthly, a *Condemnation* of the practices and subinssions of the *Primitive Christians*, and the whole story of our Protestant *Martyrology*.

Sedition in
plain English.

Sedition still.

He says, Thirdly, that the City is too powerfull for any Prince that Governs not by the love of his people, which no Popish Successour can expect to do. This is the very Translation of his Namesake, Junius Brutus, in his *Vindicia Contra Tyrannos*. If the Prince fails in his promise (says he) the people are exempt from their obedience. The contract is made void, and the right of obligation is of no force. It is therefore permitted to the Officers of a Kingdom, either all, or some good number of them, to suppress a Tyrant. Here's a great deal of virulence in his Discourse; without one word of weight, to countenance it. For the well-being of this City is so essentially requisite to the well-being of this Kingdom, that the very charge of the Government is not to be defray'd without it. So that it is the interest of all Governours to cherish, and support it. Here he trilles away some half a score lines more about the Fire; and then, from the danger of the City, advances to the further danger accruing to the Citizens, as well as to the whole Kingdom, upon the Kings untimely Death.

The greatest danger (says he) will proceed from a confusion, and want of some Eminent and Interested persons, whom you may trust to lead you up against a French and Popish Army. For which purpose no person is fitter then his Grace the Duke of Monmouth, as well for Quality, Courage and Conduct; as for that his life and fortune depends upon the same bottom with Yours. He will stand by you, therefore ought you to stand by him. And remember the old rule is, he who hath the worst title ever makes the best King.

A Proposition
for a New
King.

Does he suppose this confusion upon the death of the King; or the burning of the City, or before, or after? Or has he consulted either the Illustrious Person, or the Honourable City (that he makes so bold with) to know whether or not the one would accept of such a Commission upon the Appellants terms, or the other offer it? the Character that he is pleas'd to bestow upon his Grace, for his Quality, Courage, and Conduct, is not unknown to any man that ever so much as heard of his Name. But the Appellant never considers that all these glorious circumstances are point blank contradictions to his design. How can he imagine that so brave a Person can ever stoop to so mean a thought; and suffer himself, by a Prostitute Libell, to be enchanted out of his Honour, reason, and Allegiance? Or that the most Eminent City of Christendom for purity of Religion, Loyalty to their Prince, Power, Good Government, Wealth and Resolution, should be cajol'd out of all these blessings and advantages, by the Jesuitical Fanaticism of a Dark-lantern-Pamphlet? But to what end is all this clutter? The Appellant has a mind

mind (it seems) to change his Master. *He who hath the worst Title* (he says) *ever makes the best King* ; which is a very fair proposition for setting up of a worse Title, in his Majesties place. From hence he goes forward, still computing upon his Majesties death, as a thing to be taken for granted ; and so recommending himself to the most worthy Citizens, he finishes his *appeal*, filling up the *Page* with a *Postscript* concerning some *Antimonarchical principles* in the *Church of Rome*. He that has a mind to see these match'd in the *Scottish Kirk*, may receive further satisfaction in a little book Entitled,

TYRANNY and POPERY Lording it over the *Consciences*, *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Estates*, both of King and People.

Also, *The Comick Christian*, In a Translation of Twenty Select Colloquies, out of *Erasmus Roterodamus*; Pleasantly Representing several Superstitious Levities crept into the *Church of Rome* in His days. Both Printed for *Henry Brome* at the *Gun* in *St. Pauls Churche-yard*, 1680.

The HISTORY of the PLOT : Or, A Brief and Historical Account of the Charge and Defence of *Edward Coleman*, Esq; *William Ireland*, *Thomas Pickering*, *Fohn Grove* : *Robert Green*, *Henry Berry*, *Laurence Hill*, *Thomas Whitebread*, *William Harcourt*, *Fohn Fenwick*, *Fohn Gavan*, *Anthony Turner*, *Jesuits*. : *Richard Langhorn*, Esq; : *Sir George Wakeman*, *Baronet*, *William Marshal*, *William Rumly*, *Fames Corker*, *Benedictine Monks*. Not omitting any one Material Passage in the whole Proceeding. By Authority. Printed for *Richard Tonson* within *Graves-Inne-Gate next Graves-Inne Lane*. 1679.